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THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED MONTHLY AND COPYRIGHTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE AT 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY, CONDUCTED BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS; JESSIE REDMON FAUSET, LITERARY EDITOR; AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, BUSINESS MANAGER.

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COVER Page

Reproduction of a drawing by Edward Jones.

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THE CRISIS

Vol. 25. No. 5 MARCH, 1923 Whole No. 149

Opinion of W. E. B. Du Bois

RUHR, MOSUL AND MER ROUGE

BROTHERS and sisters, be not dismayed. Sit tight and serene above the crazy turmoil. Civilization has gone mad. White supremacy is deliberately committing suicide. White Christianity is becoming sheer absence of religion. White government can no longer govern. We are heirs of all the ages. The center of world culture is slowly but surely crossing the color line. Let them forget God and man and fight in the Ruhr for the profits of coal and iron; let them fight for the profits of oil in Mosul; let them wrangle over interest rates in London and Washington and let them kill and kill and kill in Florida and Louisiana and Texas. All is well. Evil dies because it is Death. Right triumphs in the end because it is Life. Be not dismayed, brothers and sisters. Sit tight.

HARVARD

DEEP as is the shame and humiliation of Harvard's recent surrender to the Bourbon South, the spirited and whole-souled response that it has evinced is perhaps the most heartening sign of sanity on the race problem that has happened in fifty years. Not a single person of importance has yet dared to defend Lowell, while ex-President Eliot and a score of distinguished graduates have condemned his despicable action. This does not mean that Lowell has no support. It means simply that the case is so flagrant that few dare openly to defend what they secretly sustain.

Above all the Negro race and American democracy owe a debt of gratitude to Roscoe Conkling Bruce for as fine a statement of the fundamentals of democracy in college as has ever been made. In its logic and its English, its flavor and restraint it is as far above Lawrence Lowell's labored and obscure defense as can be imagined. Let the Dance of Death go on, but as long as the Black World can drive the Superior Race to its hole with ammunition like this there can be—there will be but one end. Imagine, my masters, six decades after emancipation, a slave's grandson teaching the ABC of democracy to the Puritan head of Harvard!

THE HOUSTON MARTYRS

WE are pleased to say that some progress is being made by the N. A. A. C. P. and others in securing mitigation of punishment in the case of the soldiers sentenced to imprisonment on account of the Houston riot. It has been a matter of difficulty requiring a minimum of publicity and a maximum of pressure. At present matters stand as follows:

Instead of considering the cases in block, the authorities have considered them individually and as a result clemency has been extended to a number as well as denials to several, and further clemency is expected. In a number of cases life sentences have been cut to twenty years and in some cases to ten and eleven years. Those

whose sentences have been cut to ten years will have actually to serve six years and eight months: and the others in proportion unless parole was extended to them by the Department of Justice. The law is that anyone confined in a penitentiary is eligible to parole after having served one-third of the time; and if sentenced for life, after fifteen years.

Unless our work is hampered in the future as in the past by ill-advised and self-seeking agitators we hope to see many, if not all these martyrs to race prejudice, free men.

THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS AND NATIVE LABOR

IT will be remembered that the Pan-African Congress of 1921 voted, among other things, a resolution addressed to the International Bureau of Labor connected with the League of Nations, at Geneva, Switzerland. This resolution said: "The second Pan-African Congress asks that in the International Bureau of Labor a section be set aside to deal particularly and in detail with the conditions and needs of native labor, especially in Africa and elsewhere. This Congress earnestly believes that the labor problems of the world can never be understood or completely solved so long as colored, and especially black, labor is enslaved and neglected. The Congress believes furthermore that the first step toward the emancipation of labor throughout the world would be the organization of a thorough investigation into native labor."

After the adjournment of the Pan-African Congress, Dr. DuBois as secretary, together with M. Dantés Bellegarde, Miss Jessie Fauset and M. René Claparède took this resolution in person and laid it before M. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Bureau of Labor. At the same time, M. Bellegarde on the floor of the assembly, brought this and other matters publicly to the attention of the League.

M. Thomas put the question of setting up a section to deal with native labor before his Board of Control. Much opposition was manifested, partly on account of the alleged radicalism of Dr. DuBois and others, and partly for other reasons. Finally, however, on January 1st, 1923, the matter bore fruit and the Director was authorized to appoint a special official in the Diplomatic Branch of the Bureau of Labor. This official is to have charge of matters affecting native labor in protectorates, mandated areas and other places, and to collect information and make reports.

Mr. Thomas who has been visiting America recently has personally given the above facts to Dr. Du Bois.

We are especially glad to announce this small but significant beginning and we regard it as one of the triumphs of the Pan-African Congress.

MOORFIELD STOREY

MOORFIELD STOREY has again rendered a service which makes his name immortal in the struggle for full justice to the Negro. From the inception of the Arkansas cases he has contributed his money, his time and his legal aid. Not only did he argue these cases before the Supreme Court without fee but he refused to permit the National Office to pay even his traveling and hotel expenses incurred during his trip to Washington for the trial.

This makes the third great case within the past eight years in which Mr. Storey has appeared for the N. A. A. C. P. before the United States Supreme Court. In 1915 he filed with that tribunal the only brief submitted by any private individual or organization on the famous "Grandfather" clauses enacted by Southern states to

disfranchise colored voters. Mr. Storey's brief was largely instrumental in securing the decision which declared unconstitutional such attempts to evade the provisions of the 15th Amendment.

Again, in 1917, Mr. Storey argued before the Supreme Court the Louisville Segregation Case which resulted in an unanimous decision by that court declaring unconstitutional all ordinances or laws, whether local or state, which seek to limit the right of citizens to purchase and occupy property in any section of a town, city or state. This decision made invalid for all time laws seeking to force all Negroes to live in ghettoes.

And now come the Arkansas Cases. In all these notable fights for justice Mr. Storey has served without fee, rendering legal services for which it would have been most difficult to pay. There has been added to the great legal ability which elevated him to the presidency of the American Bar Association, a keenly sympathetic interest in and concern for the rights for which he was fighting. He has made every colored man and woman, and every white person with concern for justice and fair play, his debtor.

WALTER F. WHITE.

CORRESPONDENCE

Waco, Tex., Gen'l. Delivery, 12-14-'22

KIND SIRS:—

I have just read your Xmas paper through, and have this to say:

Why don't you teach in your paper independence in place of social equality, of Whites and Blacks?

Now I am willing for you to teach them independence and in fact everything that a White learns. But just as sure as you undertake to tell them, or leave the impression that they can intermarry in the Whites you not only go against Booker T. but you admit yourself, in doing this way that a White is your superior, else you would prefer like the Whites to keep the Black color that Nature or God gave you.

I think the White is superior in every way, and show my thoughts by wanting to stay separate and distinct from the Blacks in every way. We are at least a separate people and it suited God to have us this way else he would not have made us so. Can you say the same? Then tell the Blacks to not mingle; or marry the Whites, which makes the Higher Whites so angry. Now if you will do this you will avert a war, but otherwise you will see more nigger property burned and niggers mobbed than you have ever yet heard of.

Kindly,

E. M. EDWARDS.

December 21, 1922.

MY dear Sir:—

I have your letter of December 14th. We teach in THE CRISIS both intelligence and social equality. We do not mean by social equality that any Negro or any white man shall marry anybody that they do not wish to marry. Moreover we ourselves, as colored people prefer to marry colored people; but we believe and maintain that in a Christian and civilized country, if two persons do wish to live together that the only decent way for them to act is to get married and that experience has shown that there is less intermingling of the dangerous sort between groups with legal marriages than with illegal unions.

You must remember that it is the South where the laws are strictest against intermarriage and where people like you contend that the whites do not want to intermingle with Negroes, that it is there that the greatest intermingling of the white and

black race has taken place in the past and is taking place now. We maintain that the reason for this is your attempted caste system. If you will say to the white man: you can only live with black women on condition that you marry them publicly and openly, and then enforce such laws you would stop the intermarriage of all persons except those who wanted to intermarry, and that you cannot and ought not to stop.

The white race is not superior to the black race. There are some white men who are superior in some things to some black men, and there are some black men who are superior in some things to some white men, and if you think that you are going to stop the advance of the black race by burning and mobbing, you have only to remember that you have done a good deal of that in the past and you haven't stopped us yet.

Very sincerely yours,
W. E. B. DuBois.

P. S.—The Dallas, Tex., *Texas 100 per cent American* of January 5th, 1923, publishes a whole front page editorial on this answer, saying among other things: "When the time comes that a black Negro, or maybe he is a mixture of low white trash blood and a black, can, with unpugnity [*sic*], write a letter as the above and send it through the mails, there is not a white man with the right kind of blood in his veins, but who knows that it is time to call a halt . . . Du Bois, the arrogant ebony-head, thick-lipped, kinky-haired Negro 'educator', must be put in his place and made to stay there."

THE COTERIE

I WENT to the Coterie last night. I did not intend to go. After fifty, one has so many perfectly good reasons for staying at home and going to bed. But—I went.

There are numbers of good and wise folk in the United States and elsewhere whose conception of the Negro problem is the vision of wet-eyed brown folk looking through bars of race exclusion at the expensively dressed ladies and gentlemen of "society" and wailing "O my God, if I just could get in". Their conception of the "labor" problem is quite similar in terms.

What complacent impudence! I have met in my life many charming white folk in America, in England, in France, in Germany and elsewhere. And will you believe my utter honesty, dear paler friends of mine, when I say with all sincerity that if it were simply a matter of my own enjoyment and happiness I could not find in all the world a group of human beings more utterly beautiful, more filled with the joy of living and sweetness of spirit than the group at the Coterie last night? They were black, brown, yellow, orange, mauve, pink and white; their hair wavered from gold to midnight in waves and curls and masses of every conceivable intricacy. Their limbs curved and moved with a grace well nigh inimitable and their soft and laughing eyes and voices held a fineness of love and beauty that I doubt if any group of white folk ever surpasses. I sat and feasted my eyes; I danced and let my thoughts wander and I knew that not only here but in a hundred—a thousand other cities in every state and division of this mighty and far thrown land I had seen and known groups like this.

As I have said:—if I consulted simply my own wish and joy I would not care if I never saw and knew other people. But I know that this attitude would be both selfish and dangerous; and only in human contact comes understanding and peace, and the wider, fuller life.

But the thing that pricks me is the spectacle of blithering idiots who

stand and pity and gravely consider just how and where and to what minimum extent they can allow me and these to enjoy the sacred boon of their drab and artificial company.

No, no, no. Of course I want social equality. Of course I want to go to the theatre, dine and, if I will, dance. But Name of a Name, it's not with them I want to go but with my friends. Some of my friends, a fine few, are white. It is a privilege to be with them. Most of my friends are black and "colored." I love to be with them; and whomever I am with is my business and no one's else so long as we behave tolerably.

I know that there are great and unwashed, uncombed, and unlettered masses among mine with whom close contact has its difficulties; but does any pale face presume to tell me—me who have seen the slums of Glasgow and East London and the lower New York, that black folk have here any monopoly? Worshippers of the great God Percentage may indeed take refuge in the fact that we as a mass are poorer and more ignorant—what of all that?

The point is that we are in our higher realization beautiful and fine and splendid. We love each other and we pray that God may damn a world which systematically insults us. In the past we used to be ashamed of ourselves and we had to be, thanks to slavery. But suppose to-day that they who have gone, could awake. Suppose they are looking in from some great cloud swept throne—my mother and yours, my old grandfather! Perhaps this our joy is not ours but theirs, sweeping in like some great silent song of praise to make this perfection of content.

The exasperating thought is how beautiful and interesting most human beings could be if some fools like Stoddard and Madison Grant did not spend their lives hindering and hating them, and other selfish scoundrels did not steal more food and clothes than they can use, and so upturn the balance of human satisfaction.

N. A. A. C. P. DRIVE

THE Annual Membership Drive of the N. A. A. C. P. begins April 1st.

The object of the drive is:

1. To increase our branches to 500.
2. To revive a majority of dormant branches which now number nearly 100.
3. To increase the number of branches with over 500 members so that they may include each city of considerable size, especially in the North. These dropped deplorably last year.
4. To increase our branches of over 1000 members, until they shall include every major city in the North and a number of points in the South. These dropped to four last year.
5. To obtain a general increase of at least fifty per cent. in the membership of the Association.

The N. A. A. C. P. proposes:

1. To show that colored people are not *quitters*,—that we have just begun to fight.
2. To gain *power* to use in 1924 for fuller freedom.
3. To aid in continued fight on lynching, segregation, Jim-Crowism, disfranchisement and peonage.
4. To stand always and forever at the Gate of Freedom—on guard, full-panoplied, uncompromising, unafraid.

We ask the help of all Americans, and especially those of Negro blood:

1. Because this is their organization, the most democratic in America, knowing no color line, no class line, no race line, and no sex line.
2. Because they must realize that hostile forces now being closely organized have got to be met by better, bigger, and more powerful organization on our part.

WHITE THINGS

ANNE SPENCER

MOST things are colorful things—the sky, earth, and sea.
Black men are most men; but the white are free!
White things are rare things; so rare, so rare
They stole from out a silvered world—somewhere.
Finding earth-plains fair plains, save greenly grassed,
They strewed white feathers of cowardice, as they passed;
The golden stars with lances fine,
The hills all red and darkened pine,
They blanched with their wand of power;
And turned the blood in a ruby rose
To a poor white poppy-flower.

They pyred a race of black, black men,
And burned them to ashes white; then,
Laughing, a young one claimed a skull,
For the skull of a black is white, not dull,
But a glistening awful thing;
Made it seems, for this ghoul to swing
In the face of God with all his might,
And swear by the hell that siréd him:
"Man-maker, make white!"

THE NEGRO AND THE NORTHERN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

1. THE PROBLEM OF THE MIXED SCHOOL

THERE is a pressing problem among Negroes which is giving rise to deep and far reaching difference of opinion. Public expression, however, to this difference of opinion is usually confined to severe condemnation and there has been altogether too little careful reasoned examination of the matter. The question is this: when colored children go to mixed northern public schools do they receive the proper education, encouragement and attention; and if they do not, what is the remedy?

There is no doubt but what in some cities colored children in mixed schools are discriminated against. They do not get proper consideration or attention, they suffer veiled and open insult, they are systematically discouraged and they leave school prematurely. Too many colored folk think the only remedy for this is a segregated school system in the North and they advocate this, not only because they think their children will be better treated, but also because such schools will furnish employment to numbers of educated and deserving Negroes who otherwise might not get employment.

To this it may be answered: First, it is not true that all cities and all mixed schools mistreat colored pupils. In large numbers of cases they receive intelligent and sympathetic training. On the other hand colored people of experience who have studied the Negro problem know that of all evils, segregation in education is one of the greatest and that this evil cannot be outweighed by the few benefits which result from separate schools.

The great objections to separate public schools are: (1) It plants race prejudice in children during their most impressionable years. (2) It makes whites and blacks fail to understand or appreciate each other because of lack of mental contact. (3) It fosters among colored children a fear of white people and a belief that Negroes are inferior. (4) It fosters in white children a contempt for Negroes and a belief that whites are superior. (5) It increases the cost of the school system to such an extent that Negroes are bound to get inferior schools with lower standards calculated to fit them for the lowest places in society. (6) The public school is the only real foundation for democracy.

2. THE SCHOOLS OF NEW YORK CITY

On the other hand it will not do simply to rail against the advocates for separate schools. They are not all fools or selfseekers. They see a real evil and those who oppose them must not do so in anger, but rather must show constructive effort to overcome the present evils of Negro children in mixed schools. It happens that New York City is pointing the way in which this may be done. New York City, after a severe struggle which ended less than a generation ago, abolished her segregated Negro schools which had existed for a century. Today there are nearly 300 teachers of Negro descent in the public schools. They are scattered all through the system from the high schools to the kindergarten and they teach white children even more often than they do colored. There is in the service one Negro principal who has had under him for over 12 years an entire set of white teachers and a school of hundreds of white pupils.

The New York school system is conducted so completely without reference to color that it used to be impossible to get statistics concerning colored children. With the large influx of Negroes to New York within the last ten years, however, much attention has been focused upon the colored group, and perhaps it was natural that the problem of the colored child should become most acute in that part of the school system where it touches nearest industry.

The question arose in this way: the industrial opportunities of colored folk are limited. Should therefore the school training of colored children likewise be limited to preparing them for the careers probably open to them? This question was asked in the matter of Negroes attending High Schools; and especially it arose in the case of the Manhattan Trade School, a technical high school.

3. THE MANHATTAN TRADE SCHOOL

For years Florence M. Marshall has been principal of the Manhattan Trade School.

Supported by authorities higher up, who are well-known, she has usually refused to admit colored students to certain courses, especially the millinery and power operating courses. She based her refusal on the fact that colored girls trained in those courses could not be placed and said that there were three reasons why they could not be placed: *first*, the colored girls had certain "inherent" qualities which disqualified them for that kind of trade work. *Secondly*, employers objected to taking them, and *thirdly* employees objected to working with them. The principal declared that it took three or four times as long to place one colored girl as it did to place a white girl.

Criticism of the attitude of this principal became so wide spread among colored people that in 1916, through their various social agencies, they proposed to appoint a special assistant to the Placement Secretary, and with the consent of the principal, this was done. The first secretary, Miss Naomi Spencer, served six months, and resigned because of the treatment accorded her. Miss Marshall then wished to end the experiment, being convinced that colored girls were "inherently" incapable of pursuing certain trades successfully, and that the difficulties to be overcome on the part of employers and workers were insurmountable.

Nevertheless the colored people insisted and the second secretary, Mrs. Elise Johnson McDougald was appointed. Mrs. McDougald was an intelligent, long-suffering and determined woman. She had been a teacher in the Public Schools since 1905, and had resigned on account of marriage. She believed in her people and she was not easily discouraged. Above all she knew how herself to meet insult and discrimination by firm insistence, unfaltering determination and unruffled dignity. Various discriminations were at first thrown about her work. In seeking to make a preliminary survey of the courses, the millinery department and the straw operating departments were not shown her at all as these were considered lines of work "into which it would be inadvisable to try to introduce colored girls." The principal declared that the colored girls on the whole were lazy and had "a chip on their shoulders". The Secretary was not permitted to have desk room in the school and was never introduced to the staff and student body. Nevertheless she persisted. Mrs. McDougald found that most of the teachers in the school were quite unprejudiced and found nothing distinctive about the average colored girl. She was in their opinion like the average white girl. Now and then a teacher was found who believed them inferior and a few who believed them above the average.

4. THE WORK OF MRS. MCDOUGALD

Mrs. McDougald's work was divided into securing colored girls suited to trade training, developing more perseverance and determination among them and securing new positions in establishments where colored persons had been denied work. She found first of all that when principals of various schools in the city were asked to send their best colored pupils to the Manhattan Trade School that many of them had already done this and been rebuffed. One white principal said that several of her best colored girls had been denied admittance to the courses they wished. Another teacher said that after continually inspiring her colored pupils toward higher things the closed door of opportunity at that school and elsewhere was "the tragedy of her teaching experience." Mrs. McDougald finally persuaded the principal, in January, 1916, to make clear to the school the work that she was trying to do and she took up the individual cases of the girls.

During the work with individuals, investigations were made into the reported attitude of the girls in elementary schools. In several instances the good attitude recorded in the elementary school had become a bad attitude in Manhattan Trade School. Within the school, one teacher complained while a later teacher commended, and *vice versa*. In one instance a girl pronounced lazy and transferred out of the sewing trade, was found to be subjected outside of school to the most trying conditions. Certain adjustments made possible the assurance of increased physical and mental energy. Reports from the teachers show the effectiveness of this work of developing the pupils by the general improvement along all lines of school work. The teachers expressed interest and thanks, and the girls appreciation.

A survey was made of the various establishments in order to place colored graduates and it was found comparatively easy to open many new avenues of employment. A summary of this phase of the work after eight and one half month's effort is as fol-

lows: Number submitted by principals of the 5 public schools, 31. Girls selected: dressmakers 9; operators 5; milliners 11. Of these there were admitted to the school: 7 dressmakers and 5 operators. Others were kept on a waiting list. This work of securing good material involved 52 visits to schools, agencies and settlements; 263 visits were made to homes in order to encourage the pupils and 269 establishments were interviewed, of whom 203 were willing to take colored help and 66 objected.

Besides the work in the school Mrs. McDougald worked with the colored students in special groups and in these ways, soon changed the group from a sullen, resentful body into pupils who took new pride and initiative in their work. She worked particularly with those employers whom the Regular Placement Secretary had declared were unwilling to employ colored girls. It was stated, for instance, that if Mrs. McDougald could secure the promise of an employer to take a colored girl as a milliner one year hence, that this girl would be admitted to the millinery course of the Manhattan Trade School. Otherwise, not!

MRS. ELISE JOHNSON McDOUGALD

5. COLORED WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

This work took the form of personal interviews with the employers and effort to get at their reasons. Where the reason for not employing colored girls was given as being the attitude of the employees, the employers were asked to allow Mrs. McDougald to talk to the employees. This permission was never given. Thereupon Mrs. McDougald turned to the Trades Unions. The Trades Unions were always willing to have her present her case, but they invariably wanted her to help them and to get rid of the Negro as strike breakers. She, on the other hand, insisted that she would only help under those conditions where she thought that help would encourage the colored worker. If in a particular strike the colored worker had been kept out of the Union and was getting employment through "scabbing" she frankly told the Union that she would stand by the colored workers. And in that way a few Unions opened their doors to numbers of colored workers. When the war came the situation was revolutionized and then if the Trade School had had the colored girls whom they had formerly refused they could have placed them all and more. A good many girls who got into work at that time have been kept since.

The work was gradually leading out into larger avenues, opened up through the smaller work at Manhattan Trade School. The work there revealed a great need for definite knowledge about colored workers. The interest of Miss Rose Schneiderman, the labor leader was enlisted and a scientific survey of colored women in industry was undertaken. With this more definite information as a basis, the United States Employment Service began field work to open up more opportunities for colored women. For six months Mrs. McDougald continued in that work, and became Field Worker of the United States Employment Service, endeavoring to hold open the field for colored women and to secure further opportunities.

Meantime the Henry Street Settlement had been doing vocational guidance work in the lower East Side. The work of the Henry Street Settlement was then expanded and extended to six schools instead of one.

6. SCHOOL 119

One of the schools chosen was Number

119 and there Mrs. McDougald after being reinstated as a teacher and given special leave of absence, was made vocational counsellor under the Vocational Guidance Committee which had been organized and financed by the Henry Street Settlement. After a time the Henry Street Settlement decided to confine its efforts to one district. That left the work in School 119 out; but the Board of Education decided they would rather have Mrs. McDougald in charge of a vocational bureau than in the class room and accordingly she became teacher in charge of that bureau.

This experimental work Mrs. McDougald sought to organize and arrange according to methods that had been used elsewhere in vocational guidance, and to apply it to the particular problem of the colored boy and girl. She organized a system of procedure so as to eliminate as much as possible such things as did not properly fall under vocational guidance. The system which she worked out was afterward used by the Henry Street Settlement.

This proved to be Mrs. McDougald's real life work and threw a flood of light upon the guidance of all children in mixed Northern schools. Just what has been done can best be told in Mrs. McDougald's routine report for the first year.

(To be concluded in the April CRISIS)

THE UTOPIA NEIGHBORHOOD CLUB

THERE are throughout the United States large numbers of clubs among colored women who are doing invaluable work in social uplift. Comparatively little is known about this work because it is local and the persons engaged in it are more interested in what they are doing than in broadcasting the news about it.

The CRISIS wishes to publish from time to time stories of this work of social uplift and it presents this month the pictures and the history of the Utopia Neighborhood Club of New York City.

This club was formed in November, 1911,

THE UTOPIA

by Mrs. Daisy C. Reed. It has worked for eleven years and has at present one hundred women as members. During 1912 and 1913 the club raised $1,076 toward a home for delinquent girls. In 1913 to 1915 the club furnished shoes to children in Public School 89 whose parents were poor, and milk and eggs to sick children and to victims of tuberculosis. In 1913 the club sent twenty-five babies and two nurses to the country for two weeks. In 1915 the Sojourner Truth House for delinquent girls was opened and the club has since then given annually from one to three hundred dollars towards its maintenance besides linen and clothes. In 1916 the club raised $8,300 to pay off the mortgage on the Hope Day Nursery. In 1918 musicals and dinners were given in co-operation with the motor corps. In a ten day campaign 1917, 53,500 stamps for the prevention of tuberculosis were sold. In 1920, $560 was given toward the refurnishing of the Sojourner Truth House and $100 to the Negro exhibit in America's Making.

Beginning eight years ago the Utopia Club has staged an annual fashion show for the double purpose of raising funds and of giving colored dressmakers a public chance to show their skill. Many of these dressmakers are owners of shops or head fitters in exclusive shops in the Fifth Avenue section. Visitors from many States come to New York to witness this display. In 1919 the women of New York were invited to join with the club in conducting a campaign to establish a neighborhood house for child welfare and recreation. In six weeks $10,000 was raised by the colored women and among colored people. The Utopia Club paid the expenses of the drive, which were $1,000, and gave $1,600 of the total. A sum of $80,000 in all is needed to establish this Neighborhood House and conduct it for three years. The club has sent out the following appeal:

Wanted: 1,000 men and women who are interested in community betterment to form a Harlem Neighborhood Association.

The Neighborhood Association will co-operate with all other social welfare agencies in the neighborhood in order to prevent duplication of effort and encourage co-operation for larger service.

The Neighborhood Association will work to establish in Harlem a "Neighborhood House" from which may be directed "Child Welfare" and other community betterment activities for children and young people.

The Neighborhood House will belong to all the people who want to use it.

Little children, whose mothers work all day, may get a hot lunch at the Neighborhood House and stay after school until their mothers come.

NEIGHBORHOOD CLUB

The Neighborhood Association will work to establish in Harlem:

a. A playground.

b. Clinics for babies.

c. Classes for undernourished children.

d. More milk stations.

e. A department for advice to those eligible on how to get widows' pensions.

f. A department to aid the deserted mother to get support from the delinquent father.

g. A Vigilance Committee to co-operate with the Police Women's Reserve.

h. A department to co-operate with child placing agencies to find proper boarding homes for dependent children in an effort to offset the "Baby Farm" evil.

The CRISIS *would be glad to publish from time to time the records of similar clubs working for social uplift. We want a record of things done and not merely promised. Do not write and ask us "what it will cost" to publish such matter. It costs nothing. The* CRISIS *never charges for matter published in its news columns.*

THE CRISIS IN LIBERIA

BY A FORMER RESIDENT

THE future of Liberia appears uncertain unless she receives effective American aid in some form.

In 1912 a group of New York bankers refunded Liberia's public debt at that time. A loan of $1,700,000 was made for that purpose. The customs (both import and export), headmoney, and rubber tax were pledged as security for this loan. This security was technically called "Assigned Revenues".

The administration of these Assigned Revenues was lodged with an international Receivership. This Receivership was composed of a British Receiver, a French Receiver, a German Receiver and an American General Receiver. The American General Receiver is the head of the Receivership. The Receivers were designated by their respective governments. The Receivership never functioned smoothly as the European members seemed to regard themselves as political agents as well as fiscal officers. As a result of the war the German Receiver was eliminated under the Treaty of Versailles. The Receivership is now out of balance, unworkable, and must be reconstructed or replaced. The Liberians wanted it replaced.

A portion of the proposed $5,000,000 was to pay off the loan of 1912 so that this international Receivership could be dissolved and American assistance put in its place. Liberia owes on the 1912 loan about $1,600,000. Of this the British hold nearly $1,000,000 and the balance is held mainly by Germans, Dutch and French. In addition to this all Liberia's internal revenues are pledged to the Bank of British West Africa, a British institution, as security for the unpaid balance on advances by the Bank of the Government, which has been continuously growing since 1916.

Therefore, practically all Liberia's revenues are tied up as security for loans. There is a constantly increasing public debt because of insufficient revenue to meet the annual budget. Because of conditions brought about by the war, Liberia has not been able to balance her budget since 1914.

At present the public debt is approximately $2,500,000. If Americans took over this debt it would go a long way towards assuring the stability of Liberia. To further promote the rehabilitation of the Republic there should be sufficient additional funds to undertake necessary, productive, public improvements, such as road building, etc., to open up the interior. Two or three million dollars would be necessary to do anything worth while. Assuming that the money could be gotten to pay the public debt and make improvements, there remains the matter of administrative assistance to be provided for the Government. Upon this the successful application and repayment of the money borrowed would largely depend.

If the Liberian Government could be made politically and financially stable by American aid, capital would voluntarily seek investment there and the development of the country would naturally follow. At present practically all the trade of Liberia is in the hands of Europeans. They are not cultivating American markets for Liberian produce; yet there are already good shipping facilities between Liberia and New York. A. H. Bull & Co., of 40 West Street, New York City are running steamers to West Africa that call at Liberian ports about once a month. The amount of business done is understood to be very small; some cargo is sent to Liberia from New York but little or nothing is brought to America from Liberia. It is also reported that the Bull Line Steamers are carrying a few passengers.

Americans, white and black, can and ought to help Liberia. It is by no means a simple problem but it can be solved. The precise form which this help should take should be most carefully worked out to avoid failure and disaster. It now seems that any aid given must be private.

It would appear that sanction by the Washington Government of any scheme actually to be undertaken to help Liberia is a prerequisite of success. Now that the proposed loan by the United States Government seems remote and unlikely, would it not be necessary as a starting point to ascertain authoritatively from the Liberian Government exactly what it wants?

The financial provisions of the loan plan which were to govern the proposed U. S. Loan of $5,000,000 to Liberia were extraordinarily liberal to the little Republic. It would probably be quite impossible to get private aid on any such terms. For instance: the rate of interest was 5 per cent; Liberia was to get the full amount of the loan without the deduction of any charges, commissions, expenses, or any other reductions; the Republic's budget was guaranteed for five years to enable the Government to get on its feet financially; the repayment of the principal and interest was so arranged that it could not become a national burden; and there was no time limit imposed within which the loan had to be repaid.

Obviously therefore, the failure of the U. S. loan to Liberia is a financial misfortune of no small degree to the Republic.

The Outer Pocket

Port-au-Prince, Haiti.

Permit me to inform you that Mr. and Mrs. Williams of Tuskegee are veritable prisoners of the Officers of the Occupation and of the Police Force. These white Americans never let them be accosted by a Haitian. They have given them for a chauffeur, a white officer who goes around with them, so that if they happen to see a Haitian, there is always this American officer to take part in the conversation. Not one of us has been able to get into touch with them. I think I am right in saying they have been instructed to make a report favorable to the American Occupation in Haiti so as to influence the Negro elements in the United States against Haiti. These are the conditions which I think well to point out to you.

Topeka, Kans.

The refusal by a Republican Senate, to enact into law the Dyer Bill, justifies independent exercise of suffrage by all colored voters; supporting such persons only, who favor the measure, and the enforcement of the fourteenth amendment to the constitution.

JAMES H. GUY,
Attorney-at-Law.

Wilberforce, Ohio.

The Dyer-Anti-Lynching Bill is on the Senate calendar and only slumbers, not dead nor defeated. It will be revived. Let us quietly work and have patience. No great measure for the benefit of humanity was ever passed in a hurry. Let us talk less, and labor more arduously.

HALLIE Q. BROWN,
President National Association of Colored Women.

Chicago, Ill.

The black man should split his ticket. Become an unknown factor and quantity.

Support an enemy to teach a false friend a lesson. Join all parties. Get away from sentiment. Establish an inner circle of party leaders. Appraise and analyze each State and put aside, temporarily, the National theory. Get in Congress.

J. D. BIBB,
Editor of *Chicago Whip*.

Baltimore, Md.

My faith in party platform never strong, is now wholly lost. Two years ago a revolt in my state against local Republicanism was overcome by the argument that our fight was inopportune, that its net result would be to block the Republican Party's promise to pass some measure against lynching. The party triumphed, but lynching is not abated. Try some other party—some other course.

W. ASHBIE HAWKINS,
Attorney-at-Law.

New York City.

Negroes at least in the North ought to decide definitely upon political freedom from the Republican Party. We should organize, register, and qualify to vote in every State where our votes count, and we should make these votes count by getting behind men who are friendly to our cause instead of voting blindly for a party emblem. A division of our votes in every Northern community would do us more good than for the newcomers to all line up solidly for the party now in power at Washington.

HARRY H. PACE,
President Black Swan Phonograph Corporation.

New York City.

I was interested to read the symposium apropos of the Dyer Bill, and it seems to me that Bishop Wallace summed up the whole effect of the agitation when he said, "It has served as an eye-opener to the Negro people . . ."

I have no doubt that there are many of the same mind as Rev. W. H. Jernagin who is "*surprised and hurt* by the weakness of the Republican Party . . ." One can only observe: better late than never! And, a broken reed is a poor support under any circumstances. Mr. Murphy of the *Afro-American* exhibits a different, but quite as pathetic dependence on a broken reed, when he writes "Vote for Democrats", and Mr. Kelly Miller, when he asserts that "despite its apostasy the Republican Party is still the best existing instrument of racial service." It takes some people many years to get their eyes opened, alas! . . .

Let us take the word of Mahatma Gandhi, "the greatest man in the world today" that no one is strong enough to practice vindictiveness, that strength which is strong is the strength of the spirit. The Mahatma is trying to lead the world out of the vicious "circle of sin", where one act of Violence leads to another and a worse one, that to still another, that to something worse, etc., etc. Let us learn that refusal to coöperate with evil, whether it be of violence, vengeance or what not, is a sign of nobility, of real strength, of vision. And "where there is no vision the people perish".

If the two old parties have not vision enough to see that the defeat of the Dyer Bill is their defeat (not a defeat for the Negroes), let them perish. The hand-writing has already appeared on the wall. Let the Negroes read it aright. I take these extracts from the various letters as showing that some Negroes have already done this:—

The two major parties are now indisputably aligned with the capitalist interest—Bishop Hurst.

. . . but America has been compelled to look lynching in the face.—John Hope.

The spirit of Lincoln is dead
The President invites us out.—Burton Ceruti.

Stop cursing the South.—Robert L. Vann.

The most *effective protest* against the defeat of the Dyer Bill *must be economic*.—Robert S. Abbott.

The Dyer Bill was slaughtered in the house of its *friends*. The last resort, *an enlightened public conscience*.—C. S. Brown.

And what is the way to get at the public conscience? Take the advice of Dr. Du Bois:—spread propaganda in the interests of the Negro, by advertising.

BLANCHE WATSON.

Boston, Mass.

I am greatly interested in your recent article published in the *New Republic*. The facts are important, your marshalling of them is able, and you portray a situation which ought to engage the serious attention of every American.

The merit in your paper, however, which

particularly strikes me, is its firm and impartial justice of position, and absence of rancor, whatever may have been the possible temptation.

I write to thank your for a highly commendable piece of work.

LOUIS P. NASH.

New York City.

Again you have said it—in "Back to Africa". The "word" we have, some of us, so deeply felt, but cannot paint in masterstrokes, like yours.

There is so little sanity and wisdom in most of us, and you are always so wise and sane! Go on, the time needs truth and courage, but it needs, too, balance, after its downward step; and you are one of the few who can help to steady it. How tragically absurd it is that we should look at the color of the hands that hold us up!

ROSALIE M. JONAS.

THE NINTH CRUSADE

OFFICIALS OF THE CRUSADE

Mrs. M. B. Talbert, National Director | Mrs. Helen Curtis, 1st Vice-Director | Mrs. M. E. Wilson, 2nd Vice-Director | Mrs. L. A. Alexander, Treasurer

A MOVEMENT against lynching organized by the Anti-Lynching Crusaders, owes its origin to Mrs. Helen Curtis who was inspired by a public statement of Congressman L. C. Dyer made at the Newark Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in June, 1922.

A small committee met and organized a campaign under the energetic leadership of Mrs. Talbert. The basic thought in the minds of the organizers, was to help a cause. They, therefore, organized for a temporary campaign beginning October 1st and ending December 31st; and secondly, they sought so to safeguard the collection of monies, that no part of the funds contributed for lynching should go toward the expenses of the campaign. Nobody received any salaries and the committee started upon its work with the slogan, "A Million Women United to Stop Lynching".

The first milestone of these Anti-Lynching Crusaders has been reached, and in this number of The CRISIS, we present a nearly completed report of the actual amount of money raised. Naturally, the greatest and most far-reaching result of a moral battle of this sort is not in money but in the effect which the movement has had upon the nation. Never before in the history of the United States have so many people been made acquainted with the horrors of the lynching habit. In one day's advertising, at least five million men and women read the facts and thousands of them read them for the first time. Letters are still coming daily to the Crusaders, to the N. A. A. C. P.,

and to The CRISIS, to express horror at lynching and a new sense of personal responsibility.

Active work of the Crusaders stopped December 31st except in the case of one State, West Virginia. Since that time the work of the Crusaders has been directed toward gathering the collected funds and toward winding up their service. They will disband as soon as the last funds have been received. This financial report covers only money given directly to stop lynching. This money was sent in the form of checks payable to the Guaranty Trust Company of New York; and the funds which these checks represented were paid to that institution and in no case were they handled by the officers in charge of the crusade.

In the following report indulgence is asked for possible errors which will be corrected later. So great an effort conducted almost entirely by correspondence and with machinery quickly devised and incomplete has possibly made some mistakes:

State	State Director	Amount Received
New York	**Mrs. Helen Curtis**	**$2,184.62**
Ohio	**Mrs. Johnye E. Barnett**	**1,926.57**
Massachusetts	**Mrs. Butler R. Wilson**	**1,787.14**
Pennsylvania	**Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin**	**986.80**
New Jersey	**Mrs. Genevieve Cannon**	**675.00**
Connecticut	**Mrs. Mary T. Seymour**	**588.00**
Minnesota	**Mrs. M. M. Donovan**	**578.50**
Indiana	Mrs. Sallie W. Stewart	356.01
Michigan	Mrs. Verina G. Lucas	351.00
Rhode Island	Miss Amey Harry	300.83
Iowa	Mrs. S. Joe Brown	204.20
South Carolina	Mrs. Maggie H. Levy	168.65
California	Mrs. Lulu Slaughter	130.08
Wisconsin	Mrs. Clara C. Montgomery	95.14
Georgia	Mrs. George Williams	81.15
Oklahoma	Mrs. Anna H. Cooper	76.00
Kentucky	Mrs. Lizzie B. Fouse	73.43
Illinois	Mrs. A. L. Anderson	43.00
Delaware	Mrs. Alice Dunbar Nelson	41.00
Montana	Mrs. J. W. Duncan	30.00
Missouri	Mrs. Ida A. Walker	27.00
Tennessee	Mrs. Nettie L. Napier	25.71
Mississippi	Mrs. Lawrence Jones	25.00
Dis. of Columbia	Miss Nannie H. Burroughs	13.00
Washington	Mrs. John E. Mapps	11.25
Oregon	Mrs. E. D. Cannady	10.00
Colorado	Mrs. Laura Hill	5.00
Kansas	Mrs. Beatrice Childs	3.00
Arkansas	Mrs. L. B. O'Bryant	1.00

No Report: Arizona, Florida, Louisiana, Maryland, North Carolina, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, Wyoming.

Total amount received	$10,803.38
Amount in Guaranty Trust Co., of New York City	*10,841.78
Amount withdrawn and paid to Treasurer of N. A. A. C. P.	7,000.00
On hand	$3,841.78

*Includes interest, etc.

The Anti-Lynching Crusaders realizing that the crusade could not be conducted without a large expense account due for the most part in the publishing of their propaganda, decided to open up a special bank account for the National Expense Fund. This was to cover the expense of emblems, printing, telegrams, telephone messages and clerk hire.

This account was opened for the specific purpose of paying expenses of the work so that no money would be drawn from the Crusaders' Fund. This plan has been strictly adhered to up to date.

NATIONAL EXPENSE FUND.

Chelsea Exchange Bank, New York City

CREDITS

July	—Mrs. Helen Curtis, by check	$50.00
July	—Mrs. E. R. Boutté, by check	60.00
Aug. 1st	—Mrs. E. R. Alexander, by check	60.00
Aug. 1st	—Mrs. Grace Fenderson of Newark	50.00
Aug. 1st	—Dyer Circle of Newark, by check	100.00
Sept. 13th	—N. A. A. C. P. donation	500.00
Sept. 13th	—Miss Mary Jackson, cash from Governor of Rhode Island	25.00
Sept. 20th	—Mrs. Geo. Cannon of New Jersey	50.00
Sept. 22d	—Mrs. O. M. Waller	10.00
Sept. 25th	—Mrs. Speerman of New York City, cash by Mrs. Curtis	5.00
Sept. 22d	—Mrs. Mary T. Seymour of Connecticut, by check	35.00
Sept. 25th	—Miss Mary Jackson of Rhode Island, check, J. E. Holmes	5.00
Oct. 10th	—Mrs. Mary B. Talbert of Buffalo	50.00
Oct. 18th	—Mrs. Grace N. Johnson of New York City, by check	35.00

(*Continued on page* 216)

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND STATE DIRECTORS OF THE ANTI-LYNCHING CRUSADE

First row: Miss Jessie Fauset, N. Y.; Mrs. J. E. Barnett, Ohio; Mrs. A. Dunbar-Nelson, Del.; Mrs. E. R. Boutte, N .Y.

Second row: Mrs. G. Fenderson, N. J.; Mrs. L. J. Rollock, N. Y.; Mrs. L. R. Waller, N. Y.; Mrs. G. Cannon, N. J.

Third row: Mrs. L. Cooper, N. J.; Mrs. H. Hall, Mass.; Mrs. S. E. Fitzallen, Mass.; Mrs. N. G. DuBois, N. Y.

Fourth row: Miss Mary E. Jackson, R. I.; Mrs. G. N. Johnson, N. Y.; Mrs. M. T. Seymour, Conn. Mrs. E. D. Cannady, Ore.

(See page 215)

LEADERS OF THE ANTI-LYNCHING CRUSADE

(See Page 214)

THE ANTI-LYNCHING CRUSADE

Mrs. E. W. Johnson, W. Va.; Mrs. L. B. Fouse, Ky.; Mrs. J. W. Duncan, Mont.; Mrs. Louise W. Davis, Ohio; Mrs. Lulu Slaughter, Cal.; Mrs. M. Johnson, Va.; Mrs. S. J. Brown, Ia.; Mrs. L. Fleming, Ohio; Mrs. B. Childs, Kans.; Mrs. N. Napier, Tenn.; Mrs. A. H. Cooper, Okla.; Mrs. B. A. Beatty, Fla.

(*Continued from page* 214)

Oct.	25th—Mrs. Quick, by check, Mrs. Boutté	100.00
Nov.	11th—Mrs. Helen Curtis, check for Mrs. Rose	5.00
Nov.	13th—Mrs. Geo. Cannon, Jersey City, buttons, cash	25.00
Nov.	13th—Mrs. Grace N. Johnson, cash from Happy Rhone concert	200.00
Nov.	8th—Mrs. Geo. Cannon, Jersey City, buttons, cash	10.00
Nov.	13th—Mrs. Alice Dunbar Nelson	13.00
Nov.	13th—Mrs. Alice Dunbar Nelson	25.00
Nov.	13th—Mrs. Nettie Napier of Nashville, Tenn., check for buttons	10.00
Jan.	12th—Brooklyn, by Mrs. Rollock, check	100.00
Jan.	12th—Mrs. F. Louis Slade, by Mrs. Curtis	10.00
Jan.	12th—W. F. Wilcox, by Miss Jessie Fauset, check	10.00
Jan.	12th—Mrs. Thomas, by Miss Jessie Fauset	2.00
Jan.	12th—Cash from women of Cleveland, Ohio, by Mrs. Curtis	13.25
Jan.	26th—Mrs. Butler R. Wilson of Boston, Mass., by Mrs. Talbert	45.00
Dec.	—Mrs. Lottie Cooper	10.00
Dec.	—Miss Jessie Fauset	5.00
Dec.	—Mrs. Fitzallen	5.00
Jan.	—Mrs. N. G. DuBois, buttons and donations	35.00
Dec.	—Mrs. Ira S. Wile	10.00
		$1,868.25

PORTRAITS OF 24 STATE DIRECTORS

Mrs. S. W. Stewart, Ind.; Mrs. V. G. Lucas, Mich.; Mrs. M. M. Donovan, Minn.; Mrs. L. Hill, Col.; Mrs. C. C. Montgomery, Wis.; Mrs. L. B. Williams, Pa.; Mrs. D. E. Lampkin, Pa.; Mrs. L. B. O'Bryant, Ark.; Mrs. G. S. Williams, Ga.; Mrs. I. A. Walker, Mo.; Mrs. A. L. Anderson, Ill.; Mrs. M. O. Levy, S. C.

EXPENDITURES

Sept. 12th—National Director for postage, printing and sending out of first 5,000 letters	$500.00
Sept. 14th—To Miss Mary E. Jackson, July and Aug. expenses	113.39
Oct. 10th—July, Aug., Sept. expenses Mrs. Mary B. Talbert	180.00
Nov. 15th—Mrs. Helen Curtis a refund for money spent by Mrs. Curtis for buttons	250.00
Dec. 12th—National Director for printing	179.00
Jan. 25th—To Malcolm Baird of Buffalo for printing	32.20
Jan. 25th—To Union and Times Press of Buffalo for printing	140.00
	$1,394.59
Balance	273.66

There is still an expense of over $2,000 for printing of the 75,000 press reports, 10,000 receipt books, 25,000 prayers, 30,000 lynchings, which the Crusaders hope to raise independent of this fund through the sale of buttons and by entertainments.

National · Association · for · the ··· Advancement · of Colored · People.

HARVARD AND THE NEGRO

THE N. A. A. C. P. has been active in the protest against the action of President Lowell of Harvard in excluding colored students from the freshman dormitories of that institution. For more than a year prior to the recent nation-wide public criticism of President Lowell in departing so markedly from Harvard's tradition of policy of fair play the N. A. A. C. P. has co-operated with those who sought to have President Lowell change his policy of exclusion. This was not made public until it was seen that Mr. Lowell had no intention of changing his position.

One of the leaders of the committee who had been working quietly was Moorfield Storey. When the petition was made public, which had been drafted by this committee and circulated among Harvard graduates, the National Office gave to the press a letter which had been written to Mr. Lowell and in which a new angle was given to the entire question aside from that of gross injustice to the colored students of Harvard. It was pointed out that Harvard's surrender of its tradition and the tradition of liberal America to Southern sentiment intensifies the very problem that President Lowell professes himself as attempting to meet through the new policy of exclusion. This was because whatever amelioration of race problems as has been brought about in the South has occurred in large measure through the effects at Northern institutions on Southern white students who there met an unflinching affirmation of the equality of all men in the realm of the arts and of learning. It was contended that the traditional stand of Harvard had afforded to Southern white students the opportunity of learning to know as human beings their fellow colored students and that if they were deprived of this opportunity to be educated out of their prejudice through Harvard's affirmation of that prejudice the situation will be immeasurably darkened.

The N. A. A. C. P. has also aided the New York *World* and other organs of public opinion in their splendid campaigns against President Lowell's action. At the request of the *World* the National Office secured statements by telegraph from prominent colored Harvard graduates which were used prominently in arousing protest against the proposed policy of exclusion.

"THE BIRTH OF A NATION"

ON November 24 advertisements appeared in New York newspapers announcing that "The Birth of a Nation" would be shown at a local theatre for one week beginning Monday, December 4. The National Office of the N. A. A. C. P. immediately filed a protest with various city and state officials and with the Motion Picture Commission of the State of New York. A special hearing of the Commission on the picture was held on Saturday, December 2, at 11.00 A.M., and continued until Monday, December 4, at which time carefully documented evidence was presented in support of the N. A. A. C. P.'s contention that the Motion Picture Commission should revoke the license for the producing of this film. Considerable evidence was taken, but on December 8 by a vote of two to one the complaint of the N. A. A. C. P. against the picture was dismissed. Mr. George H. Cobb, Chairman of the Commission and Mrs. Eli T. Hosmer voted in favor of the picture. Mr. Joseph Levenson, Secretary of the Commission recommended the revocation of the permit.

The National Office of the N. A. A. C. P. frequently receives requests from its branches and others for authoritative information on which they can base protests against the showing of this picture. The decision of Mr. Levenson is so scholarly and unbiased an opinion it is published nearly in full that it may be used throughout the country when authorities ask for information to justify the barring of this film. The N. A. A. C. P. takes this opportunity of expressing to Mr. Levenson its appreciation for what it considers the best statement regarding the film that has been issued since 1914, when the picture was first produced.

Mr. Levenson's opinion reads in part:

This picture is a remarkable product of cinematographic art and unquestionably appeals to all classes. If the photo-play could be divided into two parts, one part including all the pictures portraying the Civil War period with its magnificent display of battle scenes, and the other including the scenes portraying the life of the Negro, particularly during the period of Reconstruction, in which he is shown in the main as a menace to established society, it would be very simple to decide upon the merits of the Protest against this stupendous work. The law, however, requires the Commission to decide upon the picture as a whole, unless, in its judgment, it finds it can make eliminations which, when made, will not seriously interfere with the main purpose and the continuity of the story.

The Motion Picture law of this state was enacted primarily to protect the public from the exhibition of pictures that would endanger the welfare of the community. Such regulation, now provided in almost every civilized land, has been due entirely to the realization that the motion picture influences the thought and affects the life and citizenship of a community, because it can be understood and enjoyed without any special concentration of thought on the part of the observer, which makes it particularly attractive to untrained minds, and especially to children, illiterates, the ignorant and mental defectives. . . .

The picture portrays several instances of gross immorality. The idea is conveyed that one of the leading statesmen of the time is a married man with a daughter and two sons, and is living with a mulatto as his mistress introduced to the audience by the sub-title "The great leader's weakness that is to blight a nation." Several scenes without sub-titles convey the thought that the wife and mother is living in the same house. Particularly revolting is the incident depicting a bestial Negro, in uniform, pursuing from her home to the woods, a young white girl, leading to her ultimate self-destruction by jumping off a cliff. These scenes show upon the screen a harrowing display of lustful passion and necessarily create a feeling of horror and loathing to the observer. Another series of pictures show the leading colored man of the community, called the Lieutenant-Governor of the State, a protegé and wardman of the leading white statesman already referred to, as determined upon every occasion to force his attentions upon the white daughter of his benefactor, terminating in a brutal assault upon her person.

As an incitement to crime, the picture is deliberate, well conceived, admirably executed propaganda to inflame the whole gamut of passions of whites against the Negroes. This is specifically indicated by the sub-titles, some of which are herewith quoted:—

"Election Day—all blacks are given the ballot while leading whites are disfranchised."

"All whites must salute Negro officers on the street."

"Passage of a bill providing for the intermarriage of blacks and whites."

"We will crush the white South under the heel of the * * * black South."

"I will build a Black Empire and you as Queen will stand by my side."

"Lynch, drunk with wine and power, gives orders for a forced marriage." (Referring to Negro and white girl.)

Many of the scenes create a feeling of horror and dismay and nearly all in which Negroes appear are calculated to foster in the white observer a contempt and hatred for the Negro. Before the story really unfolds, we are shown a white family's home being ransacked by Negro troops. From this point on, the Negro's relations to the whites are depicted with hardly a scene produced favorable to the colored people. The scenes attending the election day treatment of the whites, the portrayal of a legislative session in South Carolina in 1871, the banners demanding the marriage of whites and blacks, the attitude of the colored people towards the whites when clothed with power, all are an unmistakable attack on the colored race and are emphasized in a most distinct manner by an organized semi-religious society known as the Ku Klux Klan, whose avowed purpose is to unite in a holy war to subdue the Negro.

The venom that is characteristic of the whole production is best evidenced by the perversion of historic truths. The leading character featured in the production is the white political leader called "Austin Stoneman". It has not been denied by the author or producers that Stoneman is intended to portray Thaddeus Stevens, one of the great-

est leaders in American political history. To appreciate the injustice done in this picture to the memory of Thaddeus Stevens, it must be borne in mind that from his earliest manhood, he devoted himself to help the Negro. Recognized as one of the ablest lawyers of his time, he frequently espoused the cause of fugitive slaves without compensation. After his election to Congress, he became one of the great leaders of his party, taking a prominent part in the sessions prior and during the Civil War and Reconstruction Period. He served as Chairman of the House Committee on Reconstruction and aided materially in framing the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, submitted by this Committee. He is characterized by James G. Blaine as "one of the memorable figures in the parliamentary history of the United States."

His viewpoint as to the Negro, which the picture so maliciously misrepresents, is best expressed by him during the reconstruction period (as quoted by Mr. Blaine in Vol. 2, pp. 129-130 of his "Twenty Years of Congress") "Congress must look after them (former slaves) until they can take care of themselves. If we do not do so, we had better have left them in bondage. If we have not yet been sufficiently scourged for our national sin (slavery) to teach us to do justice to all God's creatures without distinction of race or color, we must expect the heavy vengeance of an offended Father."

Thaddeus Stevens never married and therefore had no daughter who could be attacked and assaulted by his colored protegé and political henchman as the picture portrays. As he died in 1868, the picture representation of him as controlling a Southern state in 1871 becomes ridiculous. This method of falsifying history must have been employed with the object of engendering intense hatred of the Negro and to foster ill-will against the North by the South. It is fair to infer that one of the purposes of the picture is to justify the creation of a secret organization, semi-religious in nature, to oppose constituted legal authority.

Our nation is made up of many groups representing all races and creeds, each group representing all classes and all types, ranging from the most intelligent to the most ignorant.

A photoplay that at any time aids in creating a feeling of ill-will against any group, is a menace. But at this particular period, when the whole world is involved in racial controversies, when in our own country, our newspapers are filled daily with stories of the evils of racial animosities, the exhibition of such a photo-play definitely calculated to arouse racial hatred is most dangerous and is likely to be the means of precipitating violence, riot and property destruction.

The purpose of the motion picture regulatory law under which the Commission functions is to prevent the exhibition of pictures of this type, which law is so well defined by Mr. Justice Hinman in the opinion already quoted. I, therefore, recommend that the Permit granted the Epoch Producing Co., for the picture "The Birth of a Nation" should be revoked immediately.

THE ARKANSAS CASES

IN October, 1919, a race riot occurred in Phillips County, Arkansas, growing out of an attempt on the part of Negro sharecroppers and tenant farmers to organize and, through uniting their meagre resources, secure relief through the courts from vicious economic exploitation.

Ever since the rioting the N. A. A. C. P. has, in conjunction with local colored men and women in Arkansas, defended the 12 men who were sentenced to death in a farcial trial. At a cost of more than $14,000 and after more than three years of legal fighting it has sought to prevent the execution of these men who were so palpably the victims of race prejudice.

On January 9, 1923, the United States Supreme Court heard the petition of five of these men on an appeal for a writ of habeas corpus. Moorfield Storey, National President of the N. A. A. C. P., appeared for the appellants together with Mr. U. S. Bratton of Detroit, formerly of Little Rock, Arkansas, who was forced to leave Arkansas because of his legal activities in obtaining adequate settlements for Negro farmers who were being robbed by their landlords. Attorney-General Utley of Arkansas appeared for that State.

In the brief filed with the Supreme Court by Mr. Storey and in his oral argument before that body, it was shown that the courts of the State of Arkansas, local newspapers, leading citizens, the Helena Rotary Club, the Robert L. Kitchens Post of the American Legion, and other organizations

of Phillips County tried to railroad the men to death. He charged further that extreme torture was employed to make the prisoners testify falsely and to their own detriment, and that mob hysteria dominated their trial which lasted less than an hour.

The brief went on to prove that the "rioting" arose out of the attempt of Negro farmers to obtain legal redress through organization against peonage or debt slavery, under the share-cropping system prevalent in Arkansas. The Negroes were accused of "a plot to massacre whites," and, according to Mr. Storey's brief, "a large number of white men armed themselves and rushed to the scene of the trouble and to adjacent regions and began the indiscriminate hunting, shooting and killing of Negroes."

The men in whose behalf appeal is being made were first sentenced to death in 1919, their cases passing through four State and Federal courts. The men have been twice sentenced to death and the date for their execution has been fixed five times.

"We have distinct evidence," says the brief, "that all Negroes at that time were in danger of their lives, and that two hundred or three hundred men were killed. There can be no question that the citizens of Helena were determined that these men should be convicted, and that they manufactured the evidence for the purpose; and for the court [Arkansas Supreme Court] to say that they cannot assume that they necessarily did not have a fair trial shows clearly that the Supreme Court of Arkansas was itself influenced by the same feeling that influenced the leaders of society throughout the region where these tragedies occurred."

The brief further recites that the conduct of the case against the convicted Negroes constitutes a series of outrages "than which it is hard to imagine worse."

Testimony is cited of H. F. Smiddy and T. K. Jones, the former deputy sheriff of Phillips County, Arkansas, the latter a special agent for the Missouri Pacific Railroad, both white, who were members of the sheriff's posse and who swore that the white man, for whose murder the Negroes were convicted, was killed by members of the posse, and that Negroes had nothing to do with the murder. They further swore that they personally whipped the prisoners with straps studded with metal, put strangling drugs in their nostrils and compelled the Negroes to sit in an electric chair to force testimony in the manner desired by the mob.

The brief summarizes as follows the conditions under which the Arkansas trials were conducted:

"We have the whole community inflamed against the defendants, prepared themselves to lynch them, only refraining from so doing because they are assured by leading citizens that the trial would accomplish the same purposes, a condition of things where no man who was on that jury and had ventured to vote for acquittal or delay could have lived in Phillips County, according to the testimony of one of the men who engaged in the business of manufacturing evidence for the State. We have false statements printed in the newspapers; we have society substantially organized to convict these people; and more than that, we have witnesses deliberately terrorized and forced on pain of death or torture to give false testimony. We have the testimony of the witnesses themselves that they were so terrorized and that their testimony was false. We have the testimony of the men who inflicted the torture; we have a mass of evidence which shows, if evidence can show anything, that the defendants never had a fair trial and in fact that they are innocent. As to some of them there is no evidence as to any act or word except that they were with a gang of Negroes assembled to all purposes for self-defense."

"If this Court on reading this petition, these affidavits and this record is not satisfied that if there ever was a case in which *habeas corpus* should be granted this is the case, no argument of counsel will convince them, and we submit with confidence that either *habeas corpus* should be granted in this case or *habeas corpus* is not a practical remedy for such outrages as the evidence in this case discloses."

To be especially mentioned in connection with these cases is the name of Scipio A. Jones of Little Rock who has, as leading attorney employed by the N. A. A. C. P. in Arkansas, worked indefatigably and bravely against tremendous odds on these cases from their inception in 1919.

At the time this is being written, the Supreme Court has not rendered its decision. The situation is distinctly hopeful as several members of the Court expressed amazement that such conditions as were brought forth could exist in the United States. There was no distinctly unfavorable comment.

The Horizon

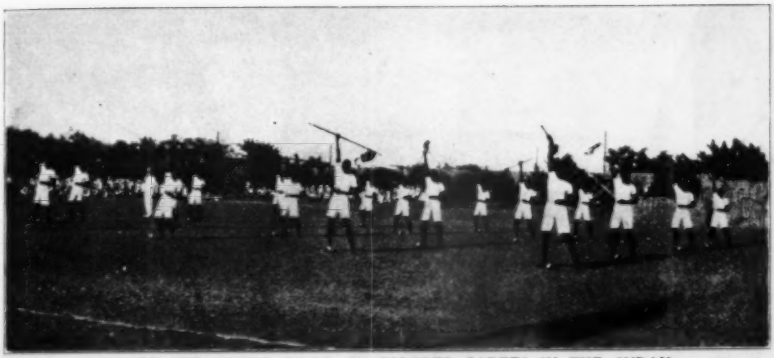
THE PRIZE CARTOON

ELMER S. CAMPBELL

¶ Elmer Simms Campbell, a senior in the Englewood High School, Chicago, Illinois, has been given first prize as a cartoonist at the third annual convention of the Central Interscholastic Press Association, held at the University of Wisconsin last December. Over 12,000 high school magazines representing all sections of the United States entered the contest. Campbell is 16 years old and the son of Mrs. Elizabeth M. Campbell, a teacher, of St. Louis. He plans to enter the University of Chicago next year.

¶ The 135th Street branch of the Y. M. C. A. employs regularly forty-one men and women. Of these thirty-seven appear in the accompanying photograph. Mr. Taylor, executive-secretary, occupies the middle of the first row.

37 EMPLOYEES OF 135th ST. BRANCH NEW YORK Y. M. C. A.

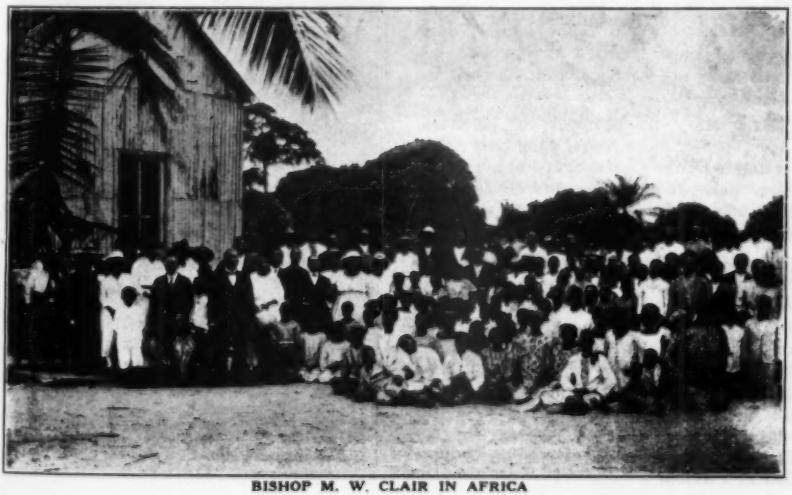


LANCE AND SWORD DRILL BY COLORED CADETS IN THE SUDAN

¶ The *Sudan Herald* tells us that no public event of the year at Khartoum attracts such widespread attention and interest as the military school sports. This military school is training Negro officers for the Sudanese army "who for smartness, military position and sportsmanship rank with any in the world".

¶ The report of Dr. C. G. Woodson, director of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, shows that during the year from July 1, 1921, the Association expended $11,509. The sum of $50,000 payable in five annual installments has been appropriated by the Carnegie Corporation and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. The Association has employed George F. Dow, C. G. Woodson and A. A. Taylor in special historical research. Three fellowships of five hundred dollars a year in the best graduate schools have been established. These fellows will take up Negro history, psychological measurements of Negroes and African anthropology and archaeology.

¶ Dr. J. E. Dibble has received his fifth appointment as physician and surgeon to the Kansas City Southern Railroad. Dr. Dibble is also physician for the employees of the Kansas City Bolt & Nut Company and one of the locals of the Builders' and Laborers' Union.



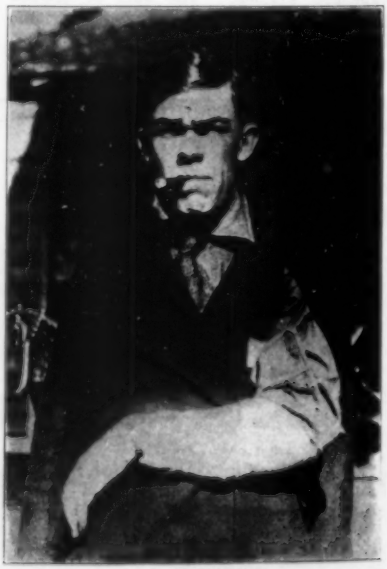
BISHOP M. W. CLAIR IN AFRICA

FRIEDERICH STREET, PORT OF SPAIN, TRINIDAD

¶ Port of Spain, Trinidad, has its "Main Street" too under the guise of a broad well-paved thoroughfare known as Friederich Street. Except for the fact that almost all the shops have upper porticoes, the American would fancy himself quite at home, since many a home-grown advertisement and commodity meets even the casual eye.

¶ Mrs. Mary T. Seymour of Hartford, Conn., polled more votes than any other candidate on the Connecticut Farmer-Labor party ticket in the November elections for state offices. She received 6,511 votes for Secretary of State.

¶ Mr. M. L. Studstill, a white mill operator of Sumner, Florida, was the leader of the band who led the mob that raided the Negro houses at Rosewood, Florida, killing and burning men, women and children, and destroying the property of the whole colored settlement. He was slightly wounded in the arm. We present the picture of this eminent citizen that our readers may see the type of man who is defending civilization in Florida.



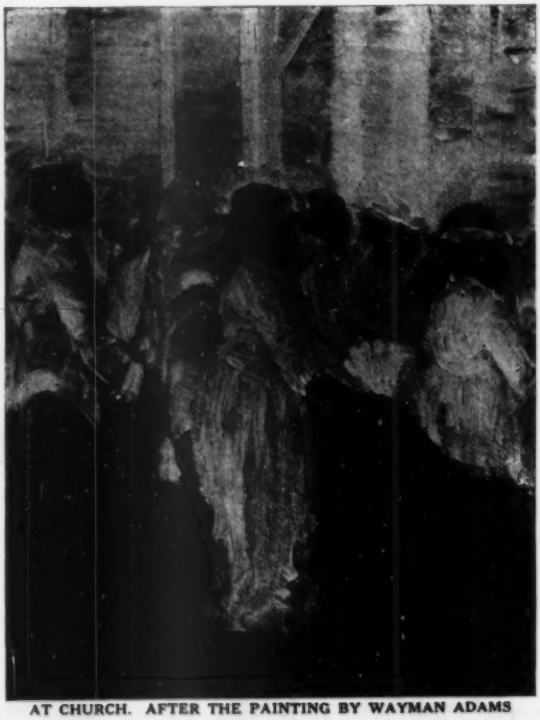
M. L. STUDSTILL

¶ A course of study for contractors and builders has been established at Hampton Institute.

¶ The 30th annual report of the Calhoun Colored School in Alabama shows $75,000 expended for current expenses last year. The endowment amounts to $151,000.

¶ William H. Richardson and Maud Cuney Hare gave a costume recital of songs of the Orient and Tropics at the Copley-Plaza Hotel, Boston.

¶ The Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority held its annual meeting in Kansas City, Missouri. It is composed of 28 chapters. The chapter at the University of Cincinnati has given three scholarships, the graduate chapter at the Virginia Normal Institute is offering a prize of fifty dollars for a short story in The CRISIS, and the chapter at the University of California ranked fourth in scholarship among 32 sororities. Miss Helen E. Perry, of the Chicago graduate chapter won a $500 prize in the *Daily News* scenario contest. The next annual meeting will be in Baltimore.



AT CHURCH. AFTER THE PAINTING BY WAYMAN ADAMS

¶ Halstead Eagleson, a colored sophomore of Indiana University was kidnapped by white students and confined in jail to prevent him from playing in the annual football game with Purdue University.

¶ The first colored bank in Raleigh, N. C., opens with $35,000 worth of initial deposits from more than 300 depositors. It is a branch of the Mechanics and Farmers' Bank of Durham.

¶ Wright Rock of De Soto Parish, La., is reaping a fortune from his oil lands. Besides the original lease money which he receives for his 80 acre tract he is paid a one-eighth royalty from the production. The output of the wells already producing is 2,500 barrels and other wells are still to be drilled. Mr. Rock is 75 years old, totally blind and the father of 15 children.

¶ Mrs. Sadie Peterson has presented to the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library, a bust of Dr. Du Bois, the work of Miss Augusta Savage. The speakers at the presentation ceremony were Professor Franz Boaz of Columbia University; Miss Ernestine Rose, head of the 135th Street Branch; Mr. C. H. Tobias of the National Y. M. C. A.; Miss Savage, Mrs. Peterson and Mr. A. G. Dill.

¶ Coleridge-Taylor's "Hiawatha's Wedding Feast" has been given in concert by the Orchestra and Glee Club of the Wendell Phillips High School of Chicago. Mrs. Mildred Bryant-Jones was director.

¶ The National Child Welfare Association has issued a beautiful poster for national Negro health week. They call attention to the series of panels designed to teach health

A Health Crusader must be neat.
Our health lies in our hands they say.
So scrub them well before you eat.
To wash the dirt and germs away.
No Health Crusader is content
With just a hasty, careless rub.
I give my neck, and ears and nails
A thorough, hearty, soapy scrub.
Mouth and nose are gateways where
Disease may enter, so beware!
Don't swap candy, fruit or gum
Or suck your pencil or your thumb.
Brush, rise up! Brush, sin down!
Brush 'em well from base to crown!
Every morning and at night,
Crusaders' teeth are clean and white.
Ten full deep breaths will help
To keep us well and strong,
Crusaders try to catch
Each minute that comes along.
Outdoor play-
Every day
Leads to health in youths true way
She stretches yawns, mopes and sighs,
Sleep hangs heavy on her eyes.
If she'd slept ten hours last night
She'd be looking much more bright.
I drink four glasses of water
All tea and coffee I shun
Each night I check my health chorus
To show what I have done
To keep my health and gain a wealth
Of sturdy strength and fun
Aren't you ashamed to gobble so?
Twill make you ill You'll see!
You should see the Health Crusade
And chew your food like me!
Brace up! Spruce up!
Sit up straight!
Be cheerful, 'cause you can.
Health Crusaders never sulk!
Stand straight
And be a man!
Two nights a week I fill the tub
And gaily take a good warm scrub
It makes me clean and keeps me well
I'm a Health Crusader, as you can tell.
In days of old, Crusaders bold
Rode forth to fight the foe.
And we to-day, as brave as they,
Forth to the battle go.
Let's fight for health and happiness.
And on each trusty blade,
We'll write the glorious motto, HEALTH!
Hurrah for our Crusade!

and hygiene to colored children. These panels cost only fifty cents each, are colored by hand and 17 by 28 inches in size. A set of twelve panels is shown above. Persons interested may communicate with the editor.

¶ Chicago will have to pay out more than $500,000 for the race riots of 1919. Eighteen death claims aggregating $81,000 were approved by the city's Council Finance Committee. The city has already paid out $20,800 for five other deaths and 15 claims still remain unsettled. All this is in addition to the expense of maintaining 6,000 state troops for nine days. Property damage is not included in the $500,000.

¶ Mother A. M. E. Zion Church of West 136th Street, New York, has taken title to the property at 140 West 137th Street, paying the sum of $5,000 in cash. This gives the church a frontage of 100 feet on 137th Street in the rear of their properties on 136th Street. Here the new Mother Zion Church is to be built extending through from one street to the other.

OFFICE OF DR. W. T. FOREMAN, NEWPORT NEWS, VA.

¶ The Catholic Church has issued plans for the erection of the Cardinal Gibbons Institute to be built at Ringe, St. Mary's Court, Md., on a 200 acre site. The late Cardinal Gibbons furnished the money to purchase the site. The colored Catholics of Washington and the vicinity have contributed sufficient funds to carry out the preliminary work.

¶ In Birmingham, Alabama, Mr. Robert Adams was recently a candidate for Associate City Commissioner. We present a facsimile of one of the cards which he sent out appealing to white voters.

Say! Don't you think this great city should own a pair of REAL GOOD, WELL-TRAINED BLOODHOUNDS, for the purpose of catching some of the ROBBERS, BURGLARS and other CRIMINALS, who now find it SO EASY to escape? I KNOW it should, and if you elect me one of your City Commissioners we'll HAVE a pair of the VERY BEST that can be found.

ROB. ADAMS, for City Commissioner

COÖPERATION AND THE NEGRO

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

THE recent impulse given to Coöperation through organization on the part of the farmers and the removal of legal barriers is sure to affect the Negro. This is inevitable since any attempt on the part of white farmers to sell directly to the consumer would be futile without the coöperation of the Negro. The products coming from the latter if under the control of speculators are sufficient to nullify to a large extent the collective action of white coöperators. Successful coöperation requires the organization of production in relation to the size of the market.

The types of coöperation in which the Negro will probably engage are: Coöperative Marketing Societies; Coöperative Supply Associations; and Credit Unions.

There are at present in the South sporadic suggestions of and attempts at coöperative marketing. The meat exhibits among Negro farmers under the direction of farm demonstrators, where the products are sold collectively, carry with them the germs of a developed system of coöperation. More promising, though temporary, essays in coöperation are the occasional combinations to furnish carloads of hogs and other products which are sold at a more favorable price than individual bargaining could command. Even these ephemeral organizations have failed in most cases. They have failed partly because of the ignorance of the Negro farmer and partly because he, under necessity, has been compelled to sell prematurely. The absence of any organization to bind him to his promises and the economic domination of the white landlord have had a share in these failures. A more determined and consistent attempt to organize coöperatively can be seen in the coming meeting of peanut growers in Texas in the fall, when a coöperative market association is to be formed.

Successful coöperative marketing among Negro farmers can be achieved only when they are placed on a cash basis in renting and, under intelligent leaders, are organized according to their mode of production and the area of the market. Moreover, the areas which will be organized as logical units will naturally contain white and colored farmers. The question arises immediately: Is the Negro farmer to enter these societies on equality with the white members? It should be the duty of rural colored leaders to see that Negro farmers enter on equal terms or form independent societies. In an organization where the size of one's holdings do not count in voting power the accident of color would certainly have no place. Certain social consequences implied in these organizations merit more consideration than can be given them here.

Under the caption of Consumers' Coöperatives we shall consider those organizations which maintain stores to supply their members daily with groceries; and those organized for the purchasing of feeding stuffs and farm implements. At present the writer has not at hand any data concerning the fate of the first type among Negroes; he has heard rumors of some stranded undertakings. There are, however, widely dispersed attempts at coöperation where Negro farmers, recognizing the economic advantage of collective buying of feed and implements, have combined. But these associations have been temporary and spasmodic. The rural leader, after acquainting himself with the principles of coöperation, should seize upon these favorable moments to organize permanent societies. Even where the necessary knowledge is available, there is another obstacle to be met. In many small rural communities of the South, the Negro consumer is absolutely powerless to free himself from the white landlord's commissary. White landlords who resent the teaching of scientific methods of agriculture to their colored tenants and even neighbors would not tolerate the inauguration of a system to eliminate their stores. It is useless, of course, as a colored rural worker remarked to me recently, to think of such stores in many sections. Nevertheless, a great step towards economic emancipation could be achieved through the development of coöperative enterprises in many centers of Negro population.

While considering the present progress and future possibilities of coöperation among Negroes it is necessary to take into account the question of credit. The coöperative movement in Europe took its inception in the credit unions of Germany; and in Denmark where coöperation pervades the economic structure, the crowning achievement has been a coöperative bank. The writer has been informed that there are several rural credit unions in North Carolina among colored people. This is a hopeful sign. But on the whole the subjection of the Negro farmer has been due to his inability to get credit. The writer has been informed by a man intimately acquainted with the condition of Negro farmers that Farm Loan Banks have discriminated against colored applicants. Even if these banks function impartially, there will still be need of rural credit institutions among colored farmers. But the organization of this fundamental branch of production must wait upon intelligent leadership and expert information.

In conclusion, it appears that if the colored people, especially the farmers, are to avail themselves of the economic and social advantages of coöperation, in spite of the large percentage of illiteracy, the following program is necessary:

(1) To disseminate among them literature on the principles of coöperative enterprises.

(2) To get rural leaders, after the study of the mode of production and the market of different communities, to organize consumers and farmers; and

(3) To liberate the Negro from the present share crop system of farming.

It is to be regretted that such an occasion as the recent Farmers' conference at Tuskegee Institute was not utilized to disseminate among Negro Farmers the principles of economic co-operation. The incidental references to spontaneous attempts at co-operative marketing by the farmers attending the conference not only should have invited an investigation of the progress of the movement among Negro farmers, but should have been the basis of a discussion of the problems connected with this new era in agriculture. With the proper information and encouragement the farmers could have used their initial undertakings as the foundation for further efforts.

OLD THINGS

CHARLES BERTRAM JOHNSON

I LOVE old faces mellow wise,
That smile; their young-old laughing eyes
Undimmed, still view, in sheer pretense
Of youth, their own sweet innocence.

I love old hands that trembling bless
Youth's wild impetuous duress;
That find in childhood's tangled cares,
Life's answers to unuttered prayers.

Old things to me are dear and best:
Old faith—that after life is rest;
That somehow, from above our will,
God works His gracious marvels still.

The Looking Glass

LITERATURE

Guy Fitch Phelps in the *Southwestern Christian Advocate:*

THE White Christs come from the East,
And they follow the way of the sun;
And they smile, as Pale Men ask them to
At the things Pale Men have done;
For the White Christs sanction the sum of things—
Faggot and club and gun.

Whine of the groaning car,
Caste, which divides like a wall;
Curse of the raw-sored soul;
Doom of the great and small;
The White Christs fashioned by Pale White Men
Sanction and bless it all.

Prophets of truth have said
That Afric and Ind must mourn;
And the children of Oman weep
Trampled and slashed and torn,
Keeping the watch with brown Cathay
Till the Black Christs shall be born.

* * *

The department of research of the National Urban League is issuing a monthly journal "Opportunity" of which Charles S. Johnson is editor. The first number carried articles by Horace J. Bridges, Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, Madge Hendley, J. O. House, Rev. Dr. Clayton Powell and others.

* * *

Joseph F. Gould writes in the New York *Sun* of William Pickens' book "The Vengeance of the Gods" (A. M. E. Book Concern): This book, marks a step forward in Negro literature. The author says: "If the Negro wishes to be idealized in a world where the Negro is a considerable potential factor, he must idealize himself, or else he must expect a sorry role in every tale from 'Mother Goose' to Wells' 'Outline of History.'" These four stories deal with the relations of the Negro and the dominant race. They are propagandist in tone, but well told. The first story, "The Vengeance of the Gods," bears some relation to "Puddinhead Wilson." It tells how a white man was lynched by mistake for a half-brother. "The Superior Race" tells how a white man lost some of his pride, when a common Negro cotton hand proved superior to him in the face of danger. "Passing the Buck" is a comedy of the Negro passenger in a Pullman.

* * *

Survey of periodical literature on the Negro:

Negro Women in Industry. *Monthly Labor Review*, July, '22.

Work With Negroes. E. Rose. *Library Journal*, August, '22.

Notes on Racial Differences. A. M. Jordan. *School and Society*, October, '22.

Is There an Answer? *Survey*, Sept. 15, '22.

America's Greatest Problem. *Nation*, October 11, '22.

Negroes in American Literature. B. Brawley. *Bookman*, October, '22.

On Being Black. E. D. Waldrond. *New Republic*, November 1, '22.

The South and a Third Party. W. E. B. Du Bois, *New Republic*, January 3, '23.

Shall Black and White Mix? Clement Wood. *Nation*, January 10, '23.

Back to Africa. W. E. B. Du Bois. *Century*, February, '23.

HARVARD

THE attempt of President Lowell to exclude Negroes from the Freshman dormitories at Harvard has brought a marvelous and on the whole inspiring burst of public opinion. We quote some typical expressions:

"I am opposed to every form of racial discrimination in the universities of our heterogeneous democracy. Any such discrimination would violate very precious Harvard traditions.—Charles W. Eliot, Ex-President of Harvard, in the N. Y. *World.*

"For Harvard today to deny to colored men a privilege it accords to whites appears inevitably as a reversal of policy if not as positive disloyalty to a principle for which the university has hitherto taken an open and unshaken stand.—Editorial, Harvard *Alumni Journal.*

So far as "living with Negroes" is concerned, the Southern students and their parents have no objection to it. They are entirely accustomed to it, and they like the Negro. If any white parent tells President Lowell that he cannot bear the thought of his son's sleeping in a room which abuts

ROSCOE CONKLING BRUCE

on the same quadrangle with a Negro's room, or eating in the same dining hall with a Negro, that parent deceives Mr. Lowell. What the Southern parent demands is that some stigma be put upon the Negro. He wishes Harvard to hang out a flag discriminating against the black man.

. . . . . .

The flag of race superiority should never be raised among us. It acts as a lash arousing every bad passion and threatening the end of the republic. The display of this flag is always due to insolence and hatred; the flag adds nothing to that superiority which it proclaims. The flag is in fact always a sign of terror in the nationality that hangs it out.—John Jay Chapman, in the Boston *Herald*.

Harvard, with the prejudices of a summer hotel; Harvard, with the standards of a country club, is not the Harvard of her greatest sons. It is not the Harvard of Eliot or Emerson or William James, a training-ground of free men in a Republic. It is not the Harvard of its most loyal graduates but a Harvard temporarily at sea in a disordered world.—New York *World*.

John Albion Andrew, the Civil War Governor of Massachusetts, a Bowdoin man: "I know not what record of sin awaits me in the other world, but this I do know, that I was never so mean as to despise any man because he was poor, because he was ignorant or because he was black."—Brooklyn *Eagle*.

This relapse to Jim Crowism at Harvard is the spiritual offspring of that old antebellum false pride that felt it a duty to one's self-respect to challenge any concession to the Negro that might tempt him to dream that his right or his dignity could ever approach par with that of the white man. To such a spirit, no doubt, the fact is highly distasteful (and it often is the fact) that the black boy in college stands above the average of his white classmates, and exceedingly distasteful it must be when he stands highest of all. In such exigencies it is natural enough to ask, "What can we do to save white prestige?" Well, if we like the idea, we can do this very thing that President Lowell has now done at Harvard. We can make it apparent that the black student attends "our" college only on sufferance and by grace of our condescending indulgence. If he excels us in scholarship we can well call him an "ethnical prodigy" (sort of freak of nature, you know). And if he wins class honors, as he sometimes does, still ours can be the greater honor of a magnanimity that permits him to be a competitor with us.—Walter H. Beecher, in the Louisville, Ky., *Times*.

"After many years of arduous service in combating race prejudice," writes X. Y. Z., "A. Lawrence Smith was promoted and became Mayor of Mer Rouge. Throughout the land there was rejoicing that at last Mr. Smith had found an opportunity worthy of his powers.

"Mr. Smith's great reputation as a master mind in the solution of race problems bore fruit at once. Even before he had

left South Station for Mer Rouge two race problems at Mer Rouge were solved. All Negroes fled from Morehouse Parish, and the one Jew who had contemplated settling there bought a ticket for Alaska instead.

"On entering the town of Mer Rouge, Mayor Smith was able to say, therefore: 'Fellow subjects, our great campaign of tolerance has won two great victories. Because of our policy not a Negro can now be lynched in Morehouse Parish and not a Jew can be blackballed at our Klan Klub. We shall proceed, as we have begun, fearlessly and honestly to stamp out the curse of intolerance. If anybody in this town has a prejudice against any one else in this town, let him come to me.'"—Heyward Broun, in the New York *World*.

THE NEW SOUTH

AT the last Tuskegee conference the editor of the *Black Dispatch*, a colored paper of Oklahoma, is greatly encouraged by what he heard the white South say:

There is an admission, a prophecy and a resignation in the address of Dr. Evans, all of which, if made with sincerity and executed with diligence bodes well for the future of Dixie. Dr. Evans makes the admission that the South vitally needs the black man in underwriting her economic problems and already feels the loss of thousands who ran away from the mob, the klan and poverty, to educational opportunity and freedom in the North. He tells the South that more of the little one room cabins without windows or floors will be abandoned by the very people that his section so sorely needs and he makes the startling announcement, that sounds like Jan Smuts in South Africa and the English in Jamaica, that there must be more social intermingling between the races to bring about the accord necessary for proper growth.

Another admission on the part of the South came like a flash of lightning from a clear sky on the second night of the conference when Dr. George Hobbs, Superintendent of the schools of Kentucky, declared: "This conference marks the end of education by dictation, and marks the beginning of education by conference." The speaker went further to point out that the South had no right to attempt to prescribe the kind and sort of education that the black man should have. He said that the Negro should sit at the round table and help to determine what the program should be for all of the people, educational, political, industrial and social.

HAPPINESS

MEREDITH NICHOLSON writes in *Harper's* for December, 1922, speaking of the colored waiter in the dining car:

My appetite was so spoiled by the reflection that a man's eligibility for happiness can be determined by the chance of race or color that I felt like apologizing to the waiter for accepting his intelligent and courteous service.

Later in the day, as I passed through the dining car and found the crew "getting a little harmony" as they reset the tables, I said to myself: These men, denied as they incontrovertibly are, anything beyond the mildest approximation of the guarantees of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and viewed with distrust and animosity the minute they attempt to do anything nobler than contribute to the ease and comfort of the lordly white, nevertheless do find a certain happiness. As races have served other races in an apprenticeship, learning from their masters the arts that were in turn to serve them, so may the Negro be biding his time until, developed in the hard school of servitude, he takes his place as one of the great world races and joy-rides in the chariots of Pharaoh.

But this was silly. I wondered whether the vicious banging of the car at Pittsburgh had not loosened a complex in my already erratic brain. But when I sought the club car and looked down the aisle at the gloomy countenances of my fellow travelers, I questioned seriously whether the black men really haven't the best of it. Mirth and melody bubble in their souls, in spite of the fact that in certain areas of the republic they are effectually disfranchized, and in all others with which I enjoy familiarity, find themselves excluded as "damned niggers" from all places of popular assemblage—even from places where members of their own race provide the entertainment! Man, I reflected, is not after all a reasoning animal, with a passion for generosity and justice; he is merely a prejudice on two legs.

POOR BLACK MAMMY

MAUDE NOOKS HOWARD of Columbus, Ohio, has a letter in the New York *Times* from which we quote:

I see quite a little is being said in favor of a "suitable" monument for the Black Mammy of yesterday in the Southland; a "reward" (they are calling it) for her faithfulness to them in their helpless babyhood, and later, their trying childhood. Just what would the Black Mammy say?

. . . . . .

"Chile, doan yo'll go 'n spen' all dat money 'cause we wuz good 'n faithful 'n true. Dat wa'nt nuthin'. Jesus jes' teached us to be lak dat, da's all, honey. But Missy, ef yo'all wunt de 'pinion of yo' Mammy 'bout yo'all showin' 'preciation, tell all dem Missys back dah to jes' treat dem we lef' behin' fa'r; quit bu'nin 'em; quit hu'tin' dah feelin's; gin 'em a squar' deal, honey, dey's folks lak you'alls; spell ma race's name lak yo' do eberybody's.

"We wuz patient wid yo'all, can't yo' be a li'l patient wid ma folks? I wu'ked for

yo' daddy by day 'n tuk good keer o' yo'all, didn' I? Dey tuk ma ol' man 'n sol' 'im f'um me; I cried in de lonely hou's of de night, honey, but I wuz good to yo' wa'n't I?

"Ma purty li'l Jane, yo'all 'members huh? Purty as a picher, wa'nt she? Ma ol' hea't broke w'en Mas' sol' huh, honey, da's why I'se heah; home, safe, 'n happy, wid ma sweet Jesus. Yo'all go back, honey, gin 'em ma love, 'n jes' tell 'em whut I done tol' yo'all, honey."

"Swing low, sweet Chariot"; the liquid tones poured out of Mammy Lou's throat, and God's mighty Host caught up the echo, and our very hearts were torn asunder by the beauty and majesty of that heavenly choir; the gorgeous splendor of that band of angels dazzled our eyes and awed our souls, as they parted right and left, and Mammy Lou swept up the avenue of gold, back to the throne of God.

AMERICAN MUSIC

IN the 81st season of the Philharmonic Society of New York, Rubin Goldmark, a white American composer, presented "A Negro Rhapsody". Mr. Goldmark was born in New York and composed the rhapsody between 1919 and 1922. It is based on seven themes of Negro origin and is thus described in the program:

There is a slow introduction (*Moderato*, C minor, 4-4), begun by the 'celli and violas in unison singing *Nobody Knows de Trouble I've Seen*, repeated in imitation by the woodwind. Flutes, clarinets, and bassoons, in G minor, have another phrase from the same song. Most of the orchestra now takes this tune, while the horns in imitation sing against it *Nobody Knows*. There is a decrescendo, with long-held chords of the wood-wind, while under them the basses murmur, *O Peter, Go Ring dem Bells*. The main body of the piece (*Allegro moderato, tempo giusto*, 2-4) begins with a variant of *Nobody Knows*, with inversions in the woodwind, the basses repeat *O Peter, Go Ring dem Bells*, while the violins introduce the fourth of the seven basic themes (it should be said here that a number of the counter subjects and subsidiary themes used in the *Rhapsody* are of Mr. Goldmark's own invention). This fourth theme consists of the first bars of *O, Religion is a Fortune*. With it, in the horns, is combined the behest to Peter. This material is developed, with a climax on *Nobody Knows*. A passage of antiphonal chords for contrasted instrumental groups leads to an *Andante non troppo*, 3-4, with an English horn solo on *Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child*, above a counter-melody for the French horn. A solo violin sings this melody, and then a solo 'cello announces the chief lyric subject of the work and the sixth of its seven basic themes: it consists of two measures of *Oh, when I come to die*. The strings, horns, and wood repeat it in a rich *forte*, and turn it over to the horn quartet, while they themselves (*divisi*), with harp and celesta, weave about it *pianissimo* arabesques. Trombones recall the first theme (*Nobody Knows*) crescendo, and the full band attains its highest point of emotional intensity on *Oh, when I come to die*, followed by a diminuendo and a *fermata* on a soft A major chord of the strings.

There is a return to the *Tempo giusto* (G minor, 2-2), and the seventh and last of the themes is exhibited. . . . At the close, Peter is for the last time loudly exhorted by the brass.

ALABAMA

CLEMENT WOOD, a native white Alabamian writes in the *Nation:*

"What is the solution to the Negro question?"

"There's only one: amalgamation." The man who said this to me was then an Alabama Congressman, conservative, non-alarmist, who still stands high in State and nation. "But, above everything, don't quote me! My political life wouln't be worth that, if you did. . . . You see," he continued, "it's going on now."

How far was this Congressman right? A few scattered facts may materialize the problem. A Democratic candidate for governor was speaking at a rally in Montgomery, some twenty years ago. He finished his set speech; an excited man rose in the rear of the hall, shaking a lean, accusing finger at the orator. "What about your family of black bastards, Governor?" The distinguished Alabamian came forward to the challenge, and pointed an index finger straight at his questioner. "I've raised 'em, and educated 'em, and made decent, law-abiding citizens of 'em; and that's a damn sight more than you've done for your black bastards!" There was wild applause at this; the interrupter was thrown out. The story spread from end to end of the State; the candidate was elected.

. . . . . .

And yet, the mixing continues. There are still the double families, in scattered locations. There is still the occasional case where the white woman accepts a Negro lover. Among white boys of all classes there is much of this denial of the color line. This is less in the cities, and more in the country: for the cities offer white prostitutes, and in the rural districts loose white women are scarcer, or more difficult of approach, than Negro girls.

Grandfathers have been lynched for protesting against mistreatment of their young colored granddaughters. The situation of the Negro husband, father, or brother, under these not infrequent occurrences, is a hideous dilemma: dishonor or death are the proffered choices. And there is always the threat of the black hour of a race riot, started by some isolated breath of white lust.

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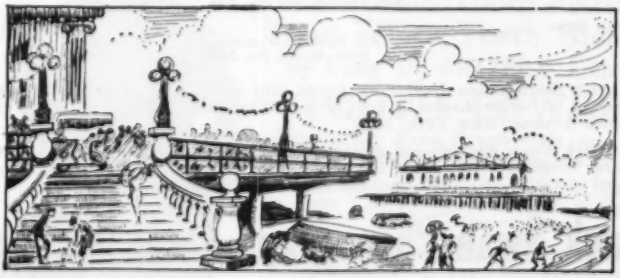

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